

A F I F T H
L E T T E R

T O T H E

People of *England*.

[Price Two Shillings.]

ERRATA.

Page 17. line 1. ~~for precede~~, r. *succeed*.

P. 30. l. 5. dele *or*.

P. 48. l. 15. for *Act of*, r. *against*.

P. 52. l. 21. r. of *their* being.

P. 66. l. 6. after *his Words*, a full Stop.

P. 74. l. 3. r. his ~~own~~ *Abilities*.

A F I F T H
L E T T E R

T O T H E

People of *England*,

O N

The Subversion of the *Constitution* :

A N D,

The Necessity of it's being restored.

ΕΝΝΟΙΑ ποθ' ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, ὅσαι Δημοκρατίαι κα-
τελύθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλως πως Βυλομήνων πολίευσθα,
μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν Δημοκρατία. XENOPH.

Itaque ite mecum, qui & vos metipsos, & Rempublicam sal-
vam vultis. TIT. LIV.

The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N :

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1757.

A
L E T T E R
T O T H E
People of *England*.

L E T T E R V.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Change of the Administration which has lately taken Place may have exceeded the Hopes of many, who sincerely wish well to their Country, and the Fears of others, who, careless of it's Fate, were, nevertheless, something intimidated by the Apprehensions of private Loss; there yet remains many and obstinate Difficulties to be removed, before the Affairs of this Nation, under the wisest and happiest Direction of the ablest Understandings, can be brought to glide smoothly on in their natural Channel, and

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the

the Miseries brought upon you by past M—rs be effectually effaced.

MANKIND in general is apt too promptly to infer a happy Event from a dawning Promise of Success, and conceive an Undertaking accomplished which is but just begun; and, perhaps, *Englishmen* are as much subject to the Influence of this Manner of thinking, as the Natives of any other Nation of the World.

WE have frequently concluded, though taught otherwise by previous Experience, that one remarkable Victory would effectually humble our present Enemies; and when such Conquest has happened, and they have again risen from the Defeat, and once more appeared in Arms, we have beheld with Surprise the Powers which have effectuated that which was greatly owing to our Neglect, in not drawing the Advantages which would naturally have followed such Success. And what *Maherbal* said to *Annibal* after the Defeat of *Cannæ*, is justly applicable to this Nation. You know how to obtain Victory, but you are ignorant in what Manner to apply the proper Advantages arising from it.

THE same Remark which has been made in defeating a foreign Enemy, holds equally true in subduing a domestick ; and the same Vigilance should be exerted against fallen Statesmen, that is necessary against a conquered General ; without pursuing the Advantages obtained, M——rs may easily recover their lost Ground, and the People, becoming remiss and thoughtless in protecting the new Statesmen, may probably see their Endeavours foiled, the veteran Destroyers reinstated, or, at least, preserving Power sufficient to thwart and frustrate every good Intention of their Successors, and prevent every Benefit which might otherwise accrue from the Change. Probably at no Time has there been more Reason to fear, that something similar to this may prove the Event of the present Alteration of the M——ry; unless you, the People of *England*, whose just Remonstrances have removed the old Clan, and placed the present Gentlemen in their Places, are strenuously resolved to exert with Energy every Effort which can preserve them in the Administration of publick Affairs.

ALMOST infinite are the Reasons which ought to determine you to this Resolution.

It is not to decide a Faction of two rival M——rs, a N——le or a F——x, who, like Athleticks fighting for the Box, oppose each other with no other Motive, but that of determining who shall obtain an absolute Power over you and your Money, and secure himself your Master. It is not whether a C——r or Lord of the Ad——ty shall or shall not amass Sums of Money, unknown to have been made in such Places 'till this Age, bestow Favours only on the undeserving and insufficient, and sell your Possessions to your Enemies. It is not a Dispute concerning what Family shall reign over you; but others, however interesting the two last may appear to be, of greater Importance to every *Englishman*. It is whether your Constitution shall or shall not be any longer maintained. Whether your Treasure shall be reserved for the Use and Advantage of *England*, or totally exhausted in pursuing the Interests of *H——r*. Whether neglecting your Trade, all Power of supplying and supporting this Realm shall be at an End, or Commerce, the Source of all your Powers, vigorously sustained. Whether ye shall be longer a respectable People, or, suffering the *French* to dry up this plenteous Source of all your Wealth, ye become a Scorn amongst the Nations of the Earth.

THAT

THAT your national Affairs are almost arrived to this fatal Issue, by the Conduct of the late Administration, scarce needs an Argument to convince you: But as the Force of all their Mischief may not be fully comprehended by many amongst you, and as I know no Motives more endearing, or more likely to continue your Perseverance in so laudable a Design, as that of preserving your Rights, Liberties, and Constitution; permit me to lay before your Eyes, the Injuries which the late M——rs have done you, and this Kingdom; let me endeavour to incite you by all Arguments, which become a free Man speaking to a free People, to espouse that Cause, which is of all the most interesting to save your Constitution, grown giddy with long looking over that Precipice on which it stands, from which it has only not already fallen, and which without the almost momentary Relief of all *England* is irrecoverably lost.

I MEAN of those whose Hearts are not yet converted into Stone, with Respect to all feeling for their Country's Welfare, by the *Gorgon's* Head of Place, Pension, and Corruption, held out by the Hands of the late M——rs.

INDEED

INDEED was a M——r once displaced, like a Tortoise turned on it's Back, rendered incapable of moving from the Place or assisting himself, you might have some pretext for becoming supine and careless: But if you are induced to think in this Manner you err egregiously. Are they not rather retired than discarded? May they not have taken Possession of powerful Hearts, like their own, unanimated with Zeal for *England's* Welfare, and which from similar Sensations cannot well bear a Separation? Are they not sustained by thousands of mercenary Associates and Adherents, who, conscious that their own Interest depends on that of the late M——rs, regard their Removal as signing the Death-Warrant of their Luxury, and an Overture to the want of Bread? And though their Sustenance has been long pilfered from the publick Money, and the Produce of your honest Industry; such is the Nature of Man, and of such Men in particular they prefer a general Ruin, which embraces the whole Nation, to the particular one of themselves, though the Kingdom emerged from that deep, to the bottom of which they had almost dragged it by their unnatural Weight. The Pain arising from the Eye of Scorn on their fallen State, infinitely
 out-weighing

out-weighing the Joy, which such Men can feel from the Salvation of a whole People.

IT cannot reasonably be denied, when M——rs willingly adopt the Plan and Pursuits of their Predecessors, that they render themselves answerable for all the fatal Effects, and praise-worthy for all the Benefits, which accrue to the Nation in Consequence of such Conduct. We must imagine, they have justly weighed and clearly foreseen the probable Events, and accordingly pursued or rejected that System, which had been formed by those whom they succeed.

THOSE then who have conducted publick Affairs in the same Way, and left unremedied the Mischiefs which their Predecessors brought upon you, are equally criminal with them: For to commit a Crime, or permit it to continue, when it is their Duty to remove it, and they possess the Power, are in nothing materially different: The late M——rs then might have relieved you the Subjects or quitted their Service. They might have blessed the Nation by Acts of publick Benefit, or proved they were resolved not to ruin it, by refusing to commit publick Injuries.

THESE

THESE Men then having rigorously pursued the pernicious Doctrines of their iniquitous Predecessors, are left without just Cause of Complaint, and equitably deemed responsible to you the People of *England*, for the Miseries which have followed.

To alledge in Favour of such Men, that the despotic Inclination of a S——n, the extreme Love of Power, or Incapacity in the M——rs, are Extenuations of their Guilt, is to the last Degree audacious and ridiculous in a free State, which this is still presumed to have a Right to be.

THE first, however arbitrarily and strenuously it may formerly have been exerted to raise Money for the Use of *Germans*, to engage in Wars in their behalf ruinous to *England*, to bribe P——ts, introduce foreign Forces, and oppress an industrious and free People with intolerable Taxes on these Accounts, might easily have been warded against by honest Statesmen ; they can oppose to those unwarrantable Inclinations in a Prince, the Laws of the Land, the Compact he has made with you the People, his Coronation-Oath, the Constitution of the Realm, and that Share
only

only which he possesses in it, Arguments sufficient to efface every such Desire in a virtuous Prince ; but if no Reasons can prevail to avert his Designs, the Place of M——r ought to and may be deserted on such Occasions, both safely and honourably, attended with the Approbation and Esteem of a whole Nation ; and what exceeds all, a Consciousness of having discharged his Duty to his Country and his God.

THE exorbitant Love of Power in a M——r, can offer no Excuse for the Evils which are consequent of Mal-Administration ; because it being by nature a Propensity which no Man has a Right to satisfy, it becomes greatly criminal and justly punishable. And in judging in this Way, we follow but the established Order of Nature, which has annexed severe Penalties to the Indulgence of every Passion in Excess, unless it be the Love of Virtue ; the Debauchee of every Kind feels the Effects of this Truth, and falls the Victim of his own irrational Passions, and the Sense of Right and Wrong implanted in our Souls, dooms Punishment on Offenders of another Kind.

As to the want of Capacity, that Plea is equally inadequate to defend a M——r; he must in the Progress of publick Administration, have so repeatedly felt his own Insufficiency, that persisting to proceed in opposition to such reiterated Warnings and Admonition; he becomes, with the greatest Equity, deemed delinquent, and a kind of Felo de se, in thus knowingly to continue that, for which he deserves to suffer by publick Justice.

HAVING thus clearly shewn, that the Crimes of past M——rs are justly to be imputed to those who succeed them, and have not removed the Miseries which were consequent, permit me to go back to the date of the Revolution, to explain your Rights and Privileges.

IT has been generally believed, that at this Period the Nature of your Constitution, became more explicitly ascertained, and fixt on more permanent Principles, than it had known before that Æra: At least the obtaining these Ends, as well as redressing Grievances, are acknowledged to be the Motives to the Transactions of those Times. For had the Power of the Crown been left unlimited and
 unfettled,

unsettled, as before that Event, and the Liberties and Privileges of you the Subjects in the same undecided State ; it would have been only to change the Names of Masters, and not the Nature of their Sovereignty. And if instead of removing the Causes of your Sufferings, and fixing your Rights and Liberties, you then gave the P———t an unlimited Authority to dispose of the latter according to their Inclination ; you only changed the Possessors of arbitrary Power, by granting to them what you denied the King ; and thus this illustrious Action of the Revolution must appear to be the Result of Faction, Caprice, Aversion to one Interest, or unwarrantable Zeal for another. For how is a Nation become more settled in it's Freedom, by transferring arbitrary Power from one Part of the Constitution to another ; any more than a Man becomes more rich who makes the Conveyance, by which a hundred thousand Pounds pass from one Hand to another, without a Shilling resting in his possession ?

CERTAINLY the Laws that were then enacted to establish the Constitution, ought to be considered of a more permanent Nature than Laws in common, of a less interesting Intention ; the very Basis and Boundary of the

the King's Prerogative and Peoples Rights; something in the Government like the Center in the Earth, the fixed Point, round which all Things move, and to which they tend; or, according to the Opinion of some Philosophers, like the plastick Nature, or creative Power, which, immixed and animating all, is immutable in itself.

THE ACTS which were then made relative to this Constitution, such as the Bill of Rights, and since, in Consequence of it, the Act of Settlement, which may be justly deemed the Compact between the present Royal Family, and you the People of *England*; are certainly of a Nature more unchangeable and sacred than those which establish a Turnpike, and not to be altered or defeated with the same Ease as an Act which removes the Fair-Day of a Market Town from *June* to *September*.

SHOULD not those Acts, founded on your former Rights in *Magna Charta*, to be considered rather as the essential Authority by which Parliaments exist, than Laws which a Parliament may abrogate, through pure Inclination to indulge a Minister or depress a free People?

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FOR does it not seem strangely absurd in a Constitution, that the Representatives of the People, which form a third Part of it, should be authorized by them to annihilate their Liberties, and thereby exclude them from the Rights which they possess in the government of the Realm? Is it not repugnant to the very Idea of a free State, that a People can have given an Authority of sacrificing their Privileges, to Men chosen the Guardians of them? especially when nothing of that Kind is either actually or virtually deputed to them at the Time of Election, or in the Nature of the Constitution; there can be no Reason assigned for giving up this Right to a representative Body, and relinquishing that of defending your Liberties by the Power of your own Hands and Speech; but, because you conceive them obliged to be your Defenders, and depend on their securing your Properties: otherwise you deprive yourselves of the Advantages which arise from a State of Nature, and make yourselves a Prey to such Men, by entering into Society; the most absurd and contradictory of all Conceptions. For, as a Man can never give another the Right of killing him, and be deemed in his Senses, nor the Person to whom this Liberty is given put it into Execution,

tion, without being punished : In like Manner the People, had they given the Power of ruining this Constitution to their Representatives, ought to have been considered as Lunatics, and their Actions illegal, and the Representative punished, who had given up their Privileges in Consequence of it.

UNLESS something exists in a free State, which no Part of it can be authorized to destroy, it is impossible the Idea of a Constitution can subsist ; for not to allow something superior to a House of Commons, is to grant them an absolute Power, a Power contradictory to the original Notion of a free People, and destructive to the Genius of a mixed Government, as it becomes thereby superior to the other Parts in the King and Peers, who are acknowledged to be bound by the Constitution.

FOR the same Reason the Constitution, which is avowed to be paramount to the two latter, must, in it's Nature, be supposed superior to the united Powers of Parliament, the Rule and Bounds of their Proceedings ; and though it is generally said, that every Kind of Government must have an absolute Power to rest somewhere in it, surely it cannot be meant

meant an absolute Power to do Injustice, or destroy itself, more than an individual Man has to commit Suicide. Such a Power contradicts the very Existence of Society, and the Laws by which the Omnipotent is bound, of not doing wrong. Wherefore the destroying the Rights and Liberties of Nations, being a most heinous Wrong, neither you can give, nor your Representatives assume, with Equity, a Power which God has not.

SHOULD it be acknowledged, that, though the Commons have exercised a Power of annihilating many Privileges and Rights belonging to the People, that they can possess no reasonable Title to it; then all Laws subversive of *Magna Charta*, the Bill of Rights, Act of Settlement, and Spirit of the Constitution, are an Excess of their Authority and a Violation of their Trust.

IF it be asserted that your Representatives, after the Hour of their Election, are no longer answerable for their Behaviour, and are legally invested with Authority to treat your Liberties as they please, then what did King *James* usurp more than this by his Prerogative? And of what Advantage has the Revolution proved to you, if the subverting
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your Constitution be legally placed in the Hands of your Representatives? In what Sense does the Idea of a free State or Liberty of the People exist; when it depends on nothing more permanent or established, than the vague, capricious, or interested Inclination of a Majority of five hundred Men, who may be open to the insidious Attacks of a M——r? Is it not more precariously intrusted than to the Care of a S——n? Surely it will be granted, that a M——r, who, by illicit Influence, should prevail in passing Laws subversive of the above Statutes, must be deemed an Offender against the most sacred of all human Enjoyments, Liberty and the Constitution of his Country, and at least equally criminal with *James* the Second.

IT is allowed, that every Part of this Constitution has an equal Right to it's particular Privileges; the King, Lords, and Commons, have some in general, and some peculiar to each severally.

THE King, intrusted with the Sovereignty, cannot, by any Act of his own, divest the Heir apparent of his Right of Succession to the Crown. The Lords cannot alienate the Honours and Privileges of those who are entitled

entitled to precede them ; they are the Representatives of Peerage as well as of themselves. In like Manner the Commons, who are intrusted with your Share in the Constitution, can they give it up to a M——r? Reason, and the Spirit of the Government, evidently evince they cannot. And to these, in Matters relative to the fundamental Parts of a Constitution, should not every Act conform ?

WHAT can be more contradictory to the Reason and Spirit of the Constitution, and of Liberty itself, than that where every Subject has an equal Claim to Freedom and the Privileges of the Realm ; and not more than a third the Right of voting for their Representatives : That this Minority should be authorized to give away the whole Rights and Immunities of a Majority of their Fellow-Subjects to Men, the latter are no wise concerned in electing. And though the Letter of no Law may precisely pronounce they *can not* : In like Manner there is none which declares they *can*. Wherefore the whole presumptive Title a P——nt can pretend to have of disposing of your Rights and Privileges can be but Prerogative, which, in these very Instances, having been illegally carried beyond the Limits of Liberty and the Constitution by
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King *James*, must, for the like Reason, be equally illegal and criminal in every Branch of the Legislature: And therefore the Spirit of the Constitution is necessary to be followed with the strictest Rigor and Perseverance.

SHOULD it be objected to this, that uninterrupted Possession for a certain Time, according to the Letter of the Laws, creates a Property in many Things; it should be replied, that, in this Instance of a general Nature, a Manner and Practice of thinking ought to prevail contrary to that which is observed in those of a private: The Spirit and not the Letter is steadily to be adhered to in all constitutional Points, because thereby Liberty can only be preserved. To instance, the Clause in the Act of Settlement, which prohibits the Prince on the Throne from leaving the Dominions of this Realm without consent of Parliament; though the Letter says nothing more, the Spirit speaks a *free* Parliament, because it considers nothing a Parliament which is not free. But, in Cases where the Individual is only concerned, as in *Life*, the Letter should be held inviolably sacred; because Judges may possibly become corrupt, wrest or disguise the Laws by their Explanation, even to influence Juries, and undo the
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Person adjudged though innocent: In Property, for the same Reason, and because where the Laws are oppressive in particular Instances, there remain besides two Courts of Equity, to which you may have Recourse, and from whence to obtain Redress.

PROBABLY the Reason why your Progenitors, in the antient fundamental Statutes of the Realm, have delivered nothing verbally explicit on this Head; of limiting the Power of their Representatives, derives it's Origin from the same Cause that the *Romans* had no Laws against Parricide: They never conceived that the Thought of betraying or selling a People's Liberties, any more than murdering a Father, could enter the human Heart: They neither imagined that the Representative could ever possess an Interest distinct from that of his Constituent, or that pecuniary Advantage could outweigh the publick Good in his Breast: They did not foresee, that Ministers might one Day have Occasion to oppress you for the Support of *German Princes*, or that *Englishmen*, no longer animated by the Soul of publick Prosperity, might degenerate into granting oppressive Taxes, 'till the Nation would be brought within one Step of Ruin: Or that Laws, essential to the Estab-

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blishment of Freedom and Security of the State, could, like Bubbles blown by Boys, be made to reflect different Colours as the Light was directed upon them, or burst at the Mandate of a M——r, by the Breath of a Majority of five hundred Men.

I AM apt to believe those Advocates, who sustain that your Representatives once elected are free to act as they list, and not answerable for their Conduct to you their Constituents; are led into that Error from not rightly comprehending the Difference between Power and Authority: Two Words frequently used indiscriminately to express the same Idea, which, notwithstanding, differ extremely in their Signification.

A GENERAL appointed by the King and paid by the Nation, receives an Order from his Prince to command; and Money from his Fellow-Subjects to support, an Army. In his Commission, it is not mentioned that he shall not wage War against the Kingdom, because his being appointed for the Preservation of the Realm excludes all Idea of his deserting the Duty of opposing the Enemies, to invade the Rights of his Fellow-Subjects: Yet, though this Restriction be never inserted,

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no Man can reasonably conceive, that because by Rewards and Punishments, by sinister Application to the Passions, artful Insinuations, sophistical Arguments, and various Methods of prevailing on Mankind, he may have a *Power* of seducing this Army to desert their Duty and enslave their Country; that therefore, he has an Authority to behave in that Manner: Or that his Crime would be less atrocious and flagrant should he succeed in that Attempt. On the contrary, all Mankind will denominate him and his Troops, base and perfidious Betrayers of the Nation's Cause, detested Enslavers of a free Country, even though he perpetrated this horrid Action in Obedience to a King's Mandate: The very Spirit of their Appointment, and nefarious Breach of Trust, denounce Horror and Detestation on all such Men.

IN this Instance, and in ten thousand others, Power and Authority are utterly distinct: The being enabled to do an Injury, implies no Authority for it's being carried into Execution, or Extenuation of the Iniquity.

IN like Manner, when the Representatives of a People presume to act contrary to the very Elements of their Constitution, betray
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and give up their Rights, Privileges, and Liberties, though nothing in the fundamental Statutes literally may prohibit so ignominious a Behaviour; the very Nature of their Station, the innate Sense of Right, and original Spirit of Government, manifestly contradict all Possibility of their having Title for such Proceedings: And whenever it is done, is it not an Act of *Power* and not of Authority? To this should it be added, that such Things have been accomplished in Consequence of a M——r's Mandate and pecuniary Influence: What Crime can be more heinous, improved by the indignant and humiliating Consideration, that your Equals, whom you chose to save, have sold you like Cattle, you and your Possessions, the Produce of your Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, to M——rs who paid your Betrayers with one Part of that Money which was levied on you, and squandered the Remainder, to secure themselves in Place, on *German* Slaves and *German* Interests, neglectful of every Advantage, which their Station, their Country, and Heaven itself called upon them to afford their exhausted Fellow-Subjects.

POWER is that, by which one Man, or Body of Men, *can* by any Means accomplish

plish their Designs ; Authority that, by which they are limited and commissioned to do any Thing by the Natute of the Constitution.

INDEED, though no Statute, as far as I can recollect, has mentioned the Limitation of p——y Power before the Revolution ; yet it is manifest from the Bill of Rights, that the Enactors of that Law, having conceived what pecuniary Persuasion and M——rs might hereafter obtain on the Parliament, have inserted a Clause declarative, that the Rights then ascertained were no Innovation on the Constitution, and that their Successors were obliged to follow them, as may be seen in the succeeding Words transcribed from that Charter of Liberty.

“ Now in Pursuance of the Premises, the
 “ said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and
 “ Commons, in Parliament assembled, for
 “ the Ratifying, Confirming, and Establish-
 “ ing, the said Declaration and the Articles,
 “ Clauses, Matters, and Things therein con-
 “ tained, by the Force of a Law made in
 “ due Form by Authority of Parliament, do
 “ pray that it may be declared and enacted,
 “ that all and singular the Rights and Liber-
 “ ties asserted and claimed in the said Decla-
 “ ration,

“ ration, are the *true, ancient, and indubi-*
 “ *table* Rights and Liberties of the People of
 “ this Kingdom (*England*), and so shall be
 “ esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed, and
 “ taken to be : And that all and every the
 “ Particulars aforesaid, shall be firmly and
 “ strictly holden and observed, as they are
 “ expressed in the said Declaration ; and all
 “ Officers and *Ministers* whatsoever, shall
 “ serve their Majesties and their *Succeffors*,
 “ according to the same in all Times to
 “ come.”

FROM this it evidently appears, that the Men who formed this Act, imagined, that as the Redress of Grievances was by the Nature of the Constitution obligatory on them, that the same ought and must be so on their Successors, and the Act immutable ; otherwise, their assuming an Authority to bind them to it by this Passage, would of all Things appear the most impotent and ridiculous.

IN order to clear up the Difficulties which have been imagined to attend the ascertaining the Authority of your Representatives in P———t, I hope I shall be excused, having taken up so much of your Time. It appeared to me absolutely necessary to lay a solid Foundation

dition for the Accufation, which I am about to bring on the late M——rs, That they have, in open Violation of your Rights, extended their Power infinitely beyond the Limits of their Authority and the Constitution, by Means of prevailing on your former Representatives, and by that Means divested you of the moft eſſential Privileges of Liberty and a free State, and reduced you to a worſe Condition than that to which you were brought before the Revolution.

IF I miſtake not, we are prohibited by an Exprefs and penal Law, to write any Thing derogatory to the Revolution, conſidering it, I imagine, not as a Tranſaction, that will not bear the ſtrongeſt Light of Truth, and Teſt of ſtricteſt Enquiry; but as ſomething ſacred, which it is a Kind of political Blaſphemy to attempt to criminate.

IN Conſequence of the Excellences parliamentarily acknowledged to exiſt in the Revolution, the Acts made to eſtabliſh that, the preſent Conſtitution, and the preſent Royal Family, muſt alike participate of this Sacredneſs: Or on what juſt Foundation can this Reverence have been demanded.

FOR this Reason the Bill of Rights, passed in 1689, at the Prince of *Orange's* coming to the Throne, and the Act of Settlement, in the twelfth and thirteenth Year of his Reign, must include the great Title to this Distinction; if writing, then, against the Revolution, of which these make the most essential Considerations, is little less than Treason; rendering them ineffectual in the most important Articles can be but little less than State Sacrilege.

THE Particulars mentioned in the first, were then considered as so many Violations committed by King *James* on the Privileges of the People, and necessary to be remedied, for the Sake of securing your Religion, and re-establishing Liberty and the Constitution.

AND of the second, as so many Barriers to fortify your Liberties, Privileges, and Constitution, against any Probability of losing them, which might arise from a new King being seated on the Throne; a Stranger to our Language, Customs, and Laws; born to rule arbitrarily over his original Subjects; unacquainted with the Nature of a commercial and free State; uninstructed in the Knowledge

ledge of Arts and Sciences; fond of a military Government; and of a different Sect in Religion from the established Church of *England*.

CAN it then be conceived, that, if a M——r shall, by Dint of Corruption, have effaced the Effects of all Religion, and, by Dint of the same Pursuit on former P——ts, have abrogated every Article which was protective of your Rights and Privileges, that such Acts are less illegal or less criminal in him than in a S——n; for what Difference does it make, whether you lose your Liberties by the exorbitant Power of a King, or the Tyranny of a M——r; or what Consolation can be drawn, from being assassinated by a royal Hand, or by a Captain of the Mob; it is the Loss of Liberty which makes the Curse, and the taking it away the Iniquity.

THE Grievances at that Time complained of against the Sovereign had their Foundation in Justice and the Rights of the Subject, and the redressing them in the Nature of the Constitution: Otherwise, by what Arguments will you assign a Cause of Complaint against the Prince on the Throne, or preserve those

Men who accomplished the Revolution from the Imputation of Want of Allegiance to their King.

THEY considered the Constitution as the primary Object of an *Englishman*; and the King but as the secondary; who, by his Attempts towards Despotism, became a Kind of Rebel against this superior Power. They justly reasoned, that as the People, which makes a third of the Constitution, are deemed Traitors, for plotting or attempting the Life of, or taking up Arms against, the King; which forms another third of the Constitution, and doomed to Death in consequence of such Behaviour; in like Manner that King *James* rebelled against two thirds of this Government, by attempting to subvert their Religion and Liberties: For our Constitution supposes, that each Part of it has a Right to be preserved; that two are more than one: And the Happiness of a whole People to be preserved, in Preference to the Ambition or other pernicious Passions of a S——n.

SHALL then a M——r be exempted from Punishment, because he has effected in one Method the very Despotism which was opposed
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in a King, and deservedly drove him into Exile for attempting it in another ?

BUT before I presume to animate you towards the recovering your lost Privileges, and calling them who have subverted the Constitution to a legal Inquiry, let me lay before you what are the Particulars which afford a Reason for such a Proceeding ; and in this Place I hope it may be excused in me, if I transpose the Order of the Articles which are in the Bill of Rights, and begin with the following :

THE Election of Members of P——nt ought to be free.'

IF a Minister, then, by Rewards and Punishments, by Means of his Associates, by Promises or Threats, or any other undue and corrupt Influence, has at any Time procured a P——nt to be returned, is it not totally repugnant to that Part of the Act of Settlement just mentioned ? But if to this it may be conscientiously added, that a Majority of these Members have been under the same pernicious Power of pecuniary Purchase, Placemen and Pensioners, mercenary Dependants on a M——r's Nod ; certainly such a Body of
Men

Men were not what they ought to be, and therefore, like *James*, when he became what he ought not, righteously to be opposed.

AND here, perhaps, before I proceed, or reason or conclude any Thing on the fatal Effects of such a M——r and such a P——nt in this Constitution, I ought to prove, that a M——r has by such Means influenced, or the Constituents by such Means returned, Representatives of so dangerous a Complexion,

IN Answer to this, I appeal to the Bosom of every Man, if he is not convinced of this Truth; if any Man is not, let him stand forth and declare his Name, and it shall be proved; 'till when, I shall consider it as a self-evident Truth, like that in Geometry, that a strait Line is the shortest which can be drawn between two Points.

If, then, this essential Article of your second Charter of Liberties, the Resurrection of your Constitution, has been long violated, how can a P——nt of such a Temperament be said to be your Representatives, or by what Sense are the Laws they passed legally enacted, when this, your only Security, is effectually alienated,

THE

THE first Clause in this sacred Act, the Bill of Rights, which was ordained for your Security, is, “ That the pretended Power of “*suspending* Laws, or the Execution of Laws “by regal Authority, without Consent of “Parliament, is illegal.”

To declaim on the Benefit of this Blessing, or the Miseries and Oppressions, which have been and may be consequent of it, would be to treat you like Children, insensible or regardless of your Condition, or as Beings, whose Souls are rendered paralytick, by the numbing Malignity of the late Ad———n.

How then shall I mention to you the Affair of *Maidstone*, where a common Thief, a capital Offender of the Laws, a foreign Hireling, because a *H———n*, was, by *m———rial* Mandate, dismissed from the Cognizance, and rescued from the Hands, of Justice? Were not the Laws suspended in this Instance without Consent of P———nt, *Magna Charta* and your Charter of Rights unparadonably violated? And here permit me to ask you, if billeting the foreign Mercenaries, at their first coming, on the Inn and Publick-House Keepers, equally intituled to Liberty and
and

and Possession of their Abodes with all other Subjects, was not an arbitrary and illegal Act, a shameful Stretch of m——rial Power? Your Laws then have been suspended in Favour of one H——n, and an arbitrary Power assumed, even more criminal than the Suspension of Law, in Favour of the rest.

WILL not then more momentous Considerations again suspend the Laws, preserve Offenders, and create despotick Orders, to oppress you, whenever Occasion shall demand them? For can it be conceived, that the Person who at once presided in the Law, coëval with the M——r in Power also, could be so grossly ignorant of your Constitution, as not to know that such Commands, to billet Mercenaries, were illegal and anticonstitutional? Otherwise, on what will you found the great Character, which with *many* he has acquired in the Law; that legislative Knowledge which has been ascribed to him by his *Friends*; and that Superiority which is said by his *Dependants* to have placed him in that exalted Station which he so long enjoyed.

WILL not such Instances, though like an Ague-Fit at first, they thrill the Soul of every *Englishman* with Horror, terminate in an
Ardor

Ardor which will expel the Malignancy of the Cause.

THE next Article to be observed, so essentially necessary to the Preservation of Liberty and the Constitution, and so happily provided by the Representatives of the People at that Time, is,

“ THAT the raising and keeping a Standing Army within the Kingdom in Time of Peace, unless it be with Consent of Parliament, is against Law.”

THIS Clause has been long abrogated, long complained of, and long unremedied, in Times of profound Tranquillity. And though *by Consent of P——nt* is inserted in this Article, by which the Suspension of it was effected; yet the Condition of that P——nt ought to have been free, or it nevertheless becomes repugnant to the Bill of Rights, the Nature of P——nts, and the Spirit of the Constitution. Is there a Man who will assert, that the P——nt which first deprived you of this Blessing was independent of the M——r?

To this immediately succeeds another Clause, which, the Moment it was suspended, rendered you impotent, and ranked you amongst the most abject of all Slaves ; with that Circumstance, so aggravating to a liberal Mind, the being deemed Rebels ; for Cowards may possess Arms without Danger to any Man. It is,

“ THAT the Subjects, which are Protestants, may have Arms for their Defence
 “ suitable to their Conditions, and as allowed
 “ by Law.”

THE Law of a free P——nt. How are your Conditions less suitable to the possessing Arms now, than when this Law was made? Have you renounced all Title to Freedom? Have you deserted the established Religion of the Kingdom? Have you turned those Arms in Rebellion against your S——n, that you are now no longer intrusted with the Possession of them? Or is the Preservation of Hares and Partridges become a more important and P——ntary Concern, than those of Liberty and the State? That an *Englishman*, and free, unless he possess one hundred Pounds a Year in Land, or one hundred and fifty in Lease, though

though he be worth a hundred Thousand Pounds in Money, cannot kill one of these Animals, without being subject to a Fine of five Pounds, or Imprisonment, in a Country where it is not worth a Shilling.

THUS, to be qualified to kill a Hare, a Man must be possessed of fifty Times the Revenue which authorizes him to vote for creating the Legislators of his Country. Strange Absurdity in a free State, unnatural Vassalage, that a free Man should be prohibited by Law from killing the Produce of his own Lands, whatever be the Income of them.

YET under this Disguise of preserving Hares, did a M——r cunningly devise to deprive you of Arms to defend Yourselfs, thus making you Slaves, by robbing you of the Power of Resistance: When will the Day of Redemption come!

THE next Article was made to coincide with that Law, which, though frequently suspended to indulge a M——r in exercising Acts of Oppression and Tyranny; is still the best Blessing of an *English* Subject: The *Habeas Corpus* Act. It is as follows,

“ THAT excessive Bail ought not to be
 “ required, nor excessive Fines imposed, nor
 “ cruel and unusual Punishments inflicted.”

WHAT *excessive* is meant to express in this Place is not easy precisely to determine. In a common Case, I know, two thousand Pounds Bail was demanded and given as Security for Appearance at the King's Bench; and not long since, a Printer received such Punishment, as can scarce be conceived to come within the Letter of this Clause; being punished in Body, Purse, and Soul, by a Man who dared to oblige a M——r in any Action that came before him, however illegal and inhuman, for the Sake of acquiring Nobility, and amassing infinite Wealth. A Man who committed to Prison, in direct Opposition to the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and offered to try the pretended Offence in his own House without a Jury; who only wanted the bloody Opportunity of being less merciful than Pestilence or *Jefferies*: For never since the Hour that *Satan* revolted from his God, has Heaven permitted so large a Portion of that Principle, which in Scripture is called *δαίμόνιον τι*, to be immixed with the human Soul. But he is gone, and his Desires unaccomplished,

complished. Thus perish all, disappointed and detested, who pervert the Laws of Liberty to the Mandates of a M——r, their own Ambition, or the Ruin of the Constitution.

SUCH have been the important Articles enacted for the Preservation of your Rights, Liberties, and Constitution; and though the latter may now no longer remain a Cause of Complaint, because such M——rs are no more; and because it is difficult to conceive, that Genius, a Sense of Honour, and the Rank he bears, can permit the Successor to stain his high Office, by obeying the Dictates of a M——r, or other Person in Power.

YET to what a forlorn Condition is this Bulwark of your Liberties reduced. Let any Man, who can separate the Influence of m——rial Interest from that Love and Duty which he owes his Country, reflect but one Moment, and then ask himself, whether the most essential Benefits of the Revolution are not rendered ineffectual, and the Blessings of the Constitution done away, by the Power of M——rs.

SUCH

SUCH having been the Fate of the Bill of Rights, let me now proceed to lay before you what has been the Event of the Act of Settlement, founded on the former, made for the establishing the House of *H—r* on the Throne, the Compact between that and you.

THE second Article of this Act is,

“ THAT, in Case the Crown and imperial
 “ Dignity of this Realm shall hereafter come
 “ to any Person, not being a native of this
 “ Kingdom of *England*, this Nation be not
 “ obliged to engage in any War for the De-
 “ fence of any Dominions or Territories
 “ which do not belong to the Crown of
 “ *England*, without the Consent of Parlia-
 “ ment.”

WHETHER this Article hath or hath not been righteously observed, let the Blood you have spilt, the Millions you have wasted, the Millions you are in Debt, the Mercenaries you have hired, the *German* Princes you have purchased, the Alliances you have made and broken, the Days you have toiled, the Commerce you have extended to procure Wealth,
 stand

stand forth and declare; and then do you pronounce according to their Evidence.

THE next Clause was happily devised for strengthening the former, by weaning the new S——n from the Love that he bore his native Land and native Subjects; and which, however well deserving it they might be, and however laudable in their Prince, was no hard Exaction on the Part of the People of *England*, considering the Value of what he left and what they gave; the Territories he quitted for the Dominions he gained, and that from one of the least Princes of the Empire he instantly became one of the most powerful Kings of *Europe*.

“ THAT no Person who shall hereafter
 “ come to the Possession of this Crown, shall
 “ go out of the Dominions of *England, Scot-*
 “ *land, or Ireland*, without Consent of
 “ P——nt.”

WHAT has the abrogating this Clause already cost? When will the Expence be at an End? How effectually has it verified the Wisdom and Prescience of those, who made it Part of this Charter of Compact?

THE following Article in like Manner, of the utmost Importance, was prudently devised for the Preservation of your Liberties, to intimidate M——rs from giving pernicious Counsel to their S——ns, and from attempting to subvert the Constitution of the Realm; for wicked Men will dare to advise, when concealed from Discovery, what the Fear of Death makes them shrink from witnessing with their own Hands. It is,

“ THAT from and after the Time that
 “ the further Limitation by this Act shall
 “ take Effect, all Matters and Things relating
 “ to the well-governing of this Kingdom,
 “ which are properly cognizable in the Privy-
 “ Council, by the Laws and Customs of this
 “ Realm, shall be transacted there, and all Re-
 “ solutions taken thereupon, shall be signed
 “ by such of the Privy-Council as shall advise
 “ and consent to the same.”

THIS Restraint, so salutary to King and People, framed for the Preservation of mutual Rights and reciprocal Prosperity, unhappily subsists no longer; M——rs advise and subscribe not: Thus Kings have been misled and you undone. Besides the insuperable
 Difficulty

Difficulty which from thence arises, of tracing to the Source the Iniquity of those Men, who have involved this Nation in all the large List of present Misfortunes, and of obtaining ample Satisfaction, so necessary to the Support of your Rights and the Constitution,

AFTER the above Clause, immediately succeeds the following, imagined with the same righteous View by your Fathers, and doomed to the same fatal End by your Contemporaries; it was for the Security of your Properties from Foreigners, who the P——nt, taught by the bounteous Inclination in King *William*, of stripping you, and bestowing on such Men, wisely foresaw, without such Provision, would, like the Swarms of Locusts fallen upon *Egypt*, be no less the Plague of *this Country*, and eat up every green Thing.

AND here I consider all Posts and Places, civil and military, as the Birthrights of *Englishmen*; on you the Taxes are levied, on you these Emoluments naturally devolve. The Words are,

“ THAT after the said Limitation shall
 “ take Effect, as aforesaid, no Person born
 G “ out

“ out of the Kingdoms of *England, Scotland,*
 “ or *Ireland,* or the Dominions thereunto
 “ belonging (although he be naturalized or
 “ made a Denizen, except such as are born
 “ of *English* Parents), shall be capable to en-
 “ joy any Office or Place of Trust, either
 “ civil or military, or to have any Grant of
 “ Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments,
 “ from the Crown to himself, or any other
 “ or others in Trust for him.”

THIS Clause, with Pain I tell it you, has
 been openly violated by a late M——r, in
 appointing to the Command of a Ship of
 War an Alien to the Land, a H——n, a
 Man by no superior Merit entitled to such
 Distinction; for Merit may afford some Ex-
 cuse for such Predilection. Indeed, though
 this Part of the above Clause has also been
 suspended in Favour of Mr *Prov—t*, it af-
 fords you Matter of Joy, rather than Cause
 of Complaint; because his *long Service*, great
Skill in military Affairs, his known *Honour*
 to the Prince he formerly served, his *Merit*
 in so speedily, so fully, and so cheaply, rais-
 ing his Regiment of *Germans*, so *timely* sent
 to the Colonies, so *agreeable* to the Disposi-
 tions of the Inhabitants, and so *promising* of
 national

national Service, render him an Object *deserving* such high Distinction.

GREAT as this Advantage from *German Troops* may prove to *America*, there is yet one Object which must pierce the Heart of every *Englishman* with unspeakable Anguish ; it is the numerous *Germans* which are enlisted in the Guards. This stamps the most flagrant Disgrace on *English* Loyalty, and raises the most honourable Resentment against a M—r in all who behold his M——y's sacred Person surrounded by foreign Soldiers. Nor will I, though an Angel came from Heaven to tell it me, believe an *English* King can conceive himself safe, protected by *German* Guards, be acquainted with, and permit this Affront to rest on Subjects who have never stained their Allegiance. Surely the Guards of sacred Persons are in Places of *military Trust*, or what Idea can be annexed to the Expression. Who can be assured of the Fidelity of such Men, accustomed to be sold and ready to be bought to any Purpose? Who can close his Eye in Peace, alarmed by Apprehensions for the precious Life of his most sacred M——y ; particularly when we consider what has been so lately attempted on the Life of the Most Christian King.

AWAY then with every venal and suspected *German*; free the Nation from it's Fears and the K—g from Danger; suffer not the standing Reproach of Disloyalty with which the M——r has stigmatized you; let your Prince know, what your Fathers thought and accomplished concerning the *Dutch* Guards of King *William*, how displeasing to them, how reluctantly he dismissed them, and the Interest he lost in his Subjects Hearts by that ill-judged Partiality; you will then have no longer Cause to complain. With what royal Condescension has your S—— sent back the *H——ns*, because they were no longer pleasing to the Nation. Will he not do the like with Respect to those *Germans* which are enlisted in the Guards?

NOR, in this Part alone of this Article, does this Act seem to be virtually, if not literally, infracted; for though Lands and Tenements may not have been granted to Foreigners, Are not Pensions for one and thirty Years absolute, within the Letter of this Law? Do they not descend from Father to Son? Are they not justly stiled Hereditaments? At least, Are they not contrary to the Intent and Spirit of the Act? Deprivations
of

of that Money, which, raised by the Subjects of the Realm, ought to be disposed of only for their Service. Why then do the Names of *Sporke, Herman Hobourge, Steinberg, Gravenbope, Schuts, Schroder, Y—, Schaub*, stand opposite to nine thousand three hundred Pounds in the List of Pensions, paid annually by the Revenues of *Ireland*? What are their Pleas of Merit for these Rewards? Are they all according to the righteous Commandments of the King of Kings.

BESIDES these, Numbers stand as Pensioners on *England*. Is it not Time to wipe them from the List, when this Nation is now agonizing at the last Gasp, drained to the last Drop, by Transfusion of the vital Power of *England* into *Germany*, to sustain the unnatural Interests of *H—r*? Certainly your *S—n* knows it not; your and his Enemies have alike concealed from him and you the approaching Ruin.

THERE yet remains another Article, which requires the most sacred Observation, essential to the very Being of a P—nt, and securing the Members you return the genuine Representatives of your Rights and Privileges. It is,

“ THAT

“ THAT no Person who has an Office or
 “ Place of Profit under the King, or receives
 “ a Pension from the Crown, shall be capa-
 “ ble of serving as a Member of the House
 “ of Commons.”

THE manifest Design of framing this Clause, was to secure your Part of the Constitution from the Influence which the Crown might otherwise obtain by the Power of Post and Pension, and, of Consequence, from that of the M——r also. Now, though no Offence may ever have been committed against this Part by the immediate Interposition of the Crown; yet few Men, I imagine, will deny, that an Influence, equally productive of Evils, which this Article was intended to prevent, has been long exerted by the late M——rs; and that, in former P——nts, Places have been split, and the Salary weighed out, like Provisions to Sailors on a short Allowance, because the Crew was too large, and the Stores too small, to give every Man the full Quantity; not to preserve the Ship, but from a very different Motive, to secure them as Evidence in Favour of the Captain, who may one Day be tried for having embezzled the Cargo.

Now

Now turn your Eyes on the two Acts abovementioned, framed as the Bulwarks which were impregnably to environ all your Liberties, and establish on a Rock, eternally immovable, the Basis of the Constitution. Tell me, then, what remains of all the boasted Blessings, the Royal Family excepted, which were obtained by the Revolution. Where is that Glory fled, which, emanating from those Laws, was for ever to surround the Head of Liberty? Is there a Ray remaining sufficient to discover where she dwells?

To such a forlorn Condition, within the Age of Man, you have been reduced by mortal Iniquity; and though I am not a Casuist of sufficient Abilities to explain, how a Sovereign, consentaneous to his Coronation-Oath, could assent to those Acts which alienate Rights, that by Compact he had sworn to preserve. Yet there are, I doubt not, amongst my Lords the Bishops, many who can solve this Difficulty, and quiet every Doubt arising in the Mind, with the same Facility they do their own on similar Occasions.

NOR is it only by the Annihilation of those Clauses, that M——rs have reduced you to a worse State of m——rial Despotism than before the Revolution. Other Laws have been framed, incompatible with the Existence of a free State. A Magistrate, in the Power of a M——r, and Nomination of the Crown, is by Law impowered to commit the Freemen of *England* to a Jail, if more than twelve meet together, and do not disperse at his Word of Command ; which Disobedience is Death by the same Law. What Christian Nation in *Europe* has any Thing so despotick in it's Nature? The innumerable Hardships in the Act of Smuggling, which the Subject is liable to suffer from the Malice of latent Enemies, is a most grievous Oppression, as well as all Statutes where the Subject has no Appeal from Officers of the Crown to the Courts of Law. What are all those Informations which have been encouraged by the late M——rs in the Court of King's-Bench, for pretended Libels ; where you are arbitrarily put to Expence, and though innocent, and never brought to Tryal, yet without all Power of Redress. What are they but the Restoration of the Star-Chamber? Why are
you

you deprived of the constitutional Method by Indictment?

THE Marriage Act, by which the least criminal is rendered guilty, and the most criminal unpunishable: That inflicts Penalties on the Clergy, from which all other Subjects are exempt.

THE Power which a C——r assumes, of committing those who are legally married and their Relations to Prison: What is it in Effect but another Court of Wards.

As to Popery, thank Heaven, we are in no Danger of seeing a Prince of that Religion on this Throne; no Man can deny the Royal Family the Justice of acknowledging that they are thorough Protestants.

BUT whether that Deluge of Irreligion and Irreverence for the Supreme Being, which has been let in upon the Nation, so that Bishops have been encouraged to depreciate the Object of your Worship, and Corruption let loose to the effacing all moral and religious Obligation, annihilating the very Idea of a God from the Minds of the highest and lowest Class of People, be less pernicious to the

H State

State in a M——r, than an Attempt to introduce Popery in a King; you will decide for yourselves. One Thing, however, I may venture to affirm; the Motives in each probably sprung from a very different Origin: In the King, it might be Zeal for the Cause of God, and the Salvation of those, whose Souls he conceived in Danger of eternal Perdition, by continuing in the same Perswasion: In the M——r, Design to eradicate every Sense of Duty as a Citizen and Christian, to lay open the Minds of the People to the Prevalence of Money, to break down every Principle of Virtue by Corruption, to remove all Objection to his Intent of subverting the State, that he might reign supreme through such detestable Atchievements.

THE first, however mistaken and contradictory to the Genius and Welfare of this Constitution, might take it's Birth from Good-Will towards Mankind.

THE latter could spring but from the most nefarious of all Designs, that of vitiating every Heart, and enslaving a whole People.

THROUGH the Course of what I have said to you, I have supposed for the last forty
Years,

Years, before the Commencement of the present P——nt, that your Representatives have been under undue m——rial Influence, illegally elected, and contradictory to the Genius of a free State; which absolutely requires they should be independent. But, even in supposing them free in every Sense, could they have constitutionally given away or alienated your Rights and Privileges? You must assuredly possess the same Title to these Immunities, which your Forefathers possessed in the Reign of *Richard* the Second; when, by the Machinations and Perswasions of that King and his Ministers, that execrable Parliament of 1397, in one sacrilegious Vote, impudently repealed every salutary Law of their Ancestors, attempted to subvert the Constitution, declared the King superior to the Laws, and transformed the *Authority* of the Sovereign into the lawless *Power* of a Tyrant.

THE Sense of your Progenitors was by no Means altered by this audacious Action; they deemed the Constitution paramount to the united Powers of P——nt, their Liberties incapable of being given up by their Representatives; they took Arms, opposed the King, their Representatives, and his Abettors, and

restored their ancient Rights and Privileges. Such was the exalted Love of Liberty, the honourable and virtuous Behaviour of your Ancestors, on that important Occasion; they obliged *Richard* the Second to abdicate his Throne, for having usurped their Rights by Consent of Parliament. In like Manner *James* the Second, in attempting a similar Design by extended Prerogative, suffered the like Fate, and abdicated also.

SHALL then M——rs in *England*, the Servants of the Publick, in the Reign of *George* the Second, perpetrate, without being called to a national Enquiry, what Sovereigns have never dared to attempt with Impunity?

AWAKE then, instruct your Members, remonstrate incessantly to your Prince, set forth the Justice of your Request, petition the Repeal of those Laws which have secluded you from Rights and Privileges renewed by the Revolution, and urge the Necessity of being restored; let not Pleasure, Pain, or Sleep, efface that Image from your Minds, nor change that Resolution of your Souls, 'till you obtain the Liberties, of which by M——rs you have been spoiled, and you deliver the Constitution to your Sons as you received it from your
Fathers.

Fathers. So shall succeeding Generations bless the present, and your Names be fairly written in the Records of immortal Glory.

FOR either your Forefathers, whose Actions have so often warmed your Hearts in reading their Story; from whom you glory to have descended, had no just Title to recover those Rights, which their Representatives gave up in the Reign of *Richard*: Or that Title subsists in full Force in that of *George* the Second, and may be as righteously exerted by you against m——rial, as by them against royal, Power. For you neither have nor can forfeit the Claim of suing for Redress of Grievances; nor M——rs obtain a legal Consent and constitutional Authority from your Representatives, of rendering ineffectual those Statutes, which were made to protect your Liberties, and preserve your Share in the Constitution.

THIS must inevitably be the Opinion, whatever be the present Profession, of all who have justified and supported the Establishment of the Prince of *Orange* and the present Family on the Throne of these Realms; otherwise, they renounced without Reason, and adopted without Principle; they have relinquished

quished the most prevalent Arguments in Favour of the Revolution, and stand self-condemned Criminals. For would it not be a strange Manner of arguing to urge, that those Laws were essentially necessary at that Time, to preserve us against arbitrary Power in a King, and needless at present against the Despotism of a M——r.

NOR can I conceive any Way of thinking so promising of Prejudice to the royal Line; should you, the People, conceiving that all Security arising from those Acts is rendered ineffectual by m——rial Influence, infer, that every mutual Compact is virtually dissolved: When the most important Articles on one Part are rendered effete and without Efficacy, those on the other still remaining in all their original Vigour; and thence think yourselves absolved from all Allegiance.

THE very thought, like the Hand of Death, must strike every Man with Dread, when he reflects how numerous are the Blessings with which the present royal House has enriched this Land; how convincing the Reasons which oblige him to cherish every ardent wish for their long Life and Prosperity; and how perilous the Situation into which they
may

may be brought by the Misdeeds and Iniquities of the late M——rs.

THUS, then, the Breaches of the Constitution may be alike fatal to the Crown as to the Subject, and the Necessity of it's being restored becomes the equal Concern of King and People.

CERTAINLY, nothing can be more averse to the Inclination of a good Prince, than screening M——rs who have oppressed his Subjects. By such Measures, did not *Richard, James*, and many others, incur the Displeasure which their M——rs would otherwise have felt, and, by becoming their Protectors, rowse the Wrath of an injured Nation, and suffer accordingly ?

BUT, since the Season is now past, in which the late Ad —— n entirely possessed the r——al Ear, the Rays of Truth, darting from other Understandings, may probably reveal new Prospects, and dispel that Obscurity from Facts disguised and Falshoods concealed, which, hanging like Mists before your S——n's Eyes, prevented him from discovering the pernicious Tendency of his late Advisers.

BY

By Means of this Illumination, those who have undeservingly risen by spurious Means, like *Hubert de Burgh*, alike disposed to fix or to destroy your Constitution on selfish Views alone; who have obtained the high Honours of Earl and Baron, degraded from their Ranks, may unpitied, with the justest Ignominy, stand on the Rock of wild Ambition, deserted and exposed, amidst the Waves of popular Contempt; like the Edystone amidst the Sea, a warning Light to all, who, through false Glory, Avarice, Pride, betraying, ill advising, or selling their King and Country, may hereafter rise from the lowest Extraction to the highest Honours.

SUCH has been the Fate of the Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement, obtained with Honour and lost with Ignominy, preserved from Kings and sacrificed by M——rs. Yet strange as it may appear, such is the dissolute Nature of those Men, who are attached to the Measures of the late Ad———n, the Author of a Pamphlet, called the *Constitution*, has omitted every Consideration of this Kind, and, with affected Tenderness for his dear Country, strives to alarm you with the Danger which attends

attends your Liberties from the future Attempts of the present Minister.

IN setting out he declares, “ His Design is “ to animate and unite the Friends of the “ Constitution in it’s Defence and Preservation.” Yet, as if it were still undamaged and entire, mentions nothing of that Distress in which it is involved at present, by those whom he abets and fears only for the future. Strange Blindness, in not perceiving the Miseries to which it is reduced ; strange Perspicuity, in seeing that, of which no Symptom can speak the Approach, because it is already past ; strange Inattention to your Interests, which has now first alarmed you of your Danger ; strange Design of animating and uniting the Friends of the Constitution, to the Preservation of what is already lost, and thus, by calling your Eyes from those Pilots which have shipwrecked your Liberties, fix them on those who have not long enough possessed the Helm to have steered amiss.

THIS Danger on the Part of Mr P—, and this friendly Alarm on the Part of the Author, he tells you, “ Arises from the M——rs “ having excluded some Men most eminent- “ ly capable of serving their Country, and
I “ introduced

“ introduced others new to Business, and not
 “ distinguished by superior Abilities.”

WHERE are they to be found, these Men so eminently capable of serving their Country? Why did this Writer omit the Instances they have given of their great Capacity? Is the present forlorn Condition of the whole Realm the Proof he means to bring? What of prudent or happy has, for a Length of Years, entered into the Ad——tion? However, he declares he does not mean the veteran M——r, whose confused Speech and unstable Motion are the exact Emblem of his Conduct in the M——ry; who Swivel-headed, like that Machine fixed in Cherry-Gardens, to preserve the Fruit from Birds, obeys the Breath of every Wind, still noisy according to it's varying Impulse; so long placed in one Situation, that even foreign Pilferers grew acquainted with his Impotence, gathered your Fruits beneath his Eyes, and sung in pure Security and Contempt of you and your Guardian.

Is it that Man, tremendous in Mischief, whose Laws are those of Oppression and Tyranny, whose Soul, like the nicest Ballance, instantly inclines to that Side into which the
 greatest

greatest Weight of Gold is thrown, and declares accordingly; seeing only through one contracted Aperture, illiberal, illiterate, unforgiving, and detested.

Is it he, whose Conduct, like that of the Viper warmed, has been one continued Instance of Perdition to his Country which enriched, and Ingratitude to his God who preserved, him? Whose every Plan has been the Creature of Ignorance or Treachery in him, the Source of Disgrace and Ruin to you. Duller than the Waters of Oblivion, Stupidity governed by Impertinence.

OR he, whose rank Ambition, backed with what aspires to the —, would bind you all in military Chains, the Condition of whose former acquiring the M——ry, was the introducing *Germans* to your Disgrace, and sustaining *H——r* to your Undoing? Whose daring is equal to every Attempt but that of doing right; whose Lust of Expence and Pleasure would pillage your last Shilling to save itself; insensible to the Motives of true Honour, Love of his Country, and the Miseries you feel; acknowledging no Limit to his despotick Will but Impossibility; like Satan, more mischievous after his Fall.

ARE these the excluded Men, so eminently capable of serving their Country? If it be in Understanding, their Proneness to Mischief has prevented them from exerting it: If from Good-Will towards Mankind, their Incapacity has effaced the whole Design. Thus the Alliance of Weakness or Iniquity, like Gravitation, which operates strongest in the heaviest Matter, has hurried all your Privileges and Expectations down towards the Center of Darkness and Destruction.

How then does the new S——y stand unjustified in removing such Men from publick Ad——tion? Whom should he introduce but those he is intimately acquainted with? Actuated by the same honourable Motives; pursuing the same salutary Ends, and in whom he may safely confide. In acting otherwise, he would have adopted the very Errors of those this Writer applauds, like them been surrounded by Knaves and Fools, and your Ruin still continued by a Change of M——rs?

BUT at length, such is the Difficulty of long concealing the real Nature of Men's Designs, the true Sentiments of this Author burst into open Discovery in the following Words,
relative

relative to the late Sir *Rob—t W—ple*, “ his
 “ highest Abilities will be said *most unjustly*
 “ to have consisted in corrupting.” Is he
 not then the Abetter of his Conduct? Has he
 not joined in this Destruction of your Consti-
 tution? Does he not long to complete that
 Purpose? Is not his Heart rent in being dis-
 placed or disappointed by him he calumniates?
 Does he not dread the Loss of Place or Pen-
 sion, envy Merit, or detest Virtue? Thence
 springs his long Silence and present babbling
 of Danger: Thence this Zeal for the preserv-
 ing a Constitution already ruined: Will not
 these Things for ever render all he has written,
 or shall hereafter write, void of Attention or
 Belief? For what Man can merit the least de-
 gree of Credit, who Favours the Conduct of
 that M——r, who, to the Mind of Man like
 the Earthquake to *Lisbon*, left not one hu-
 man Virtue unshaken to the Ground?

ANOTHER Crime which by this Writer is
 imputed to the Charge of the new M——r
 is, that “ Mr *P—* in Post might by his Ad-
 “ vice have animated, or by his Disapproba-
 “ tions awed, Mr *P——m*, to Measures more
 “ honourable and Advantageous to the Na-
 “ tion.” In this the Writer declares what
 is next to impossible; by what superior Power
 of

of Genius can one Man animate another, whose Capacity is incapable of comprehending any Thing extensive or sublime, or awe the Heart of that timid Deer into Actions of Fortitude, if he could have comprehended it. If Mr *P*— long held his Place in Complacency, it was still in Expectation, that, at length understood by the M——rs, he might gain the Opportunity of being heard by His S——n, and save the Land : From this Jealousy excluded him. If he held it in Silence, he both held and renounced it with Honour, to open his Lips for the Preservation of his Country. To have declined joining with the veteran M——r, even the Writer of the Constitution agrees is universally approved : And not joining with him he favours, is yet more applauded by all honest Lips ; because recommended by him and Men of such pernicious Principles. Folly, though destructive to a State, may possibly be led by Integrity and Wisdom ; but direct and avowed Iniquity tends invariably to Destruction.

YET notwithstanding this Author's Approbation of not joining the M——r, which he has delineated, he says, " it must be acknowledged, that he has left Mr *P*— a Fleet
 " superior to that of our Enemies, and an Ar-
 " my

“ my sufficient to repel and avenge an ignominious Invasion at Home, yet send our Colonies a vigorous and effectual Support.”

IN this Assertion I wish he may not be mistaken, and that the Calamities arising from the late Administration, by two Years fatal Mismanagement, may not have involved the present Ministers in Difficulties far superior to those which existed at this Time two Years ; notwithstanding the State of the present Fleet and present Army.

THIS I shall endeavour to prove in a Sixth Letter to you, that no Man may be causelessly led to inveigh against the present Ministry, for not remedying in Weeks, the Evils which have been superinduced by forty Years Misconduct and Iniquity ; and that your Miseries do not instantly vanish at the coming of a new Minister, like Apparitions at the Word of a Magician.

WHO the Gentleman is, which this Writer recommends to the new Minister as an Example of Temper and Moderation, is not easy to divine from any likeness between the Character and any Minister lately dismissed ; he cannot mean that Man whose Moderation
has

has engrossed and given to his Cousin the Attorney's Clerk, employments as lucrative as all those which the M——r's Family possess, against which he so grievously inveighs. Whose Spirit of Modesty prompted him to give under his own Hand, to Men of superior Birth, superior Fortune, and superior Understanding, that he had undertaken the Management of them. Indeed he has recommended a Militia as unconstitutional as a standing Army, and may have advised the sending back the *H——ns*, fearing lest more positive Commands to exempt these Favourites from condign Punishment, in direct Breach of the Constitution, may effectually prevent the Army of *England* from perpetrating on some future Occasion, what he and his Associate may have no small Inclination to attempt.

HAD the new S——y even violently taken Possession of the Seals from this Man, the Heir apparent, the King, and the People, have ample Reason to rejoyce. For Posts of great Import in Possession of daring and despotick M——rs, may on certain Events fill the Land with Civil War, Rapine, and Murder. For what has not a Nation to dread, which will not tamely relinquish it's
Rights

Rights and Privileges: To preserve which may Heaven ever inspire you, if such Men, who, daring all Things, may hereafter possess the Power of spreading the hidden Millions of *H—r* amongst the military of this Land.

BUT let this Writer declare, by what Means “ the new *S—ry* has violently taken Possession of his Post, by Methods “ wholly unknown to the Constitution.” Or will he be condemned for asserting what he cannot prove? Has he taken the Seals, as *Teague* took the Covenant, by Force? Has he raised a Rebellion in the Kingdom, and possessed them by Dint of Arms? But probably this Author thinks, that frustrating the vicious Purposes of bad *M—rs*, and expelling them the *Ad—tion*, is the most criminal of all Rebellions. Or is the obtaining popular Good-Will by superior Abilities, and the Necessity of changing Measures, from *m—rial* Insufficiency and Misconduct, and thence being called to the Seals, violently unconstitutional in his Opinion? But in this Place, does not this Zeal for his Favourite, perhaps for himself, outshoot his Prudence, and, throw a brownish Shade over his *M—sty*, who, on such Terms, delivered
 K the

the Seals to the new S——y? Where then was that Magnanimity which was so remarkably exerted at *Dettingen*? Where was the Dignity of our Nobles, and the Freedom of our Representatives, that they bore this Insult so silently? To speak in his Words, Were they all gaming at *A——r*'s, or fast asleep in their Beds, when he took them? And in what Manner do four Men, allied to the M——r only by Affinity, extend his Family through all the great Offices of State? Or who behold this with Indignation but the Writer, and Men like him, dreading to see those rising into Power, who must sink them to save the Nation?

HE then proceeds to say, “ If these are
 “ undeniable Facts, it is in Vain to evade
 “ their Force by any supposed Malignity in
 “ the Writer, by any Assurance that he loves
 “ you not, or by Conjectures of his Attach-
 “ ments to another Gentleman, whom it is
 “ apparent you do not love. Come Truth
 “ from Heaven or Hell, it's Force is equal,
 “ and not to believe is equal Obstinacy and
 “ Blindness.”

BUT is the Word *Fact* to give Reality to Assertions, unsupported by Proof, and as to
 the

the Malignity of the Writer, who loves not the M——r, and his Attachments to his Favourite, whom the M——r loves not. Certainly the latter wishes not to evade the Force of what he says by such mean Artifice. It is the inseparable Delight of all honest Minds, to be *bated* by such Men, and *not* to love such as he approves: For Virtue cannot bear to be esteemed by, or to esteem, Vice, in any Shape whatever. And this is Truth and Nature, “ come it from Heaven or Hell.”

THE Writer then proceeds to ask, “ What Virtues, what Excellencies, do these new Men bring with them?”—That of Integrity, of more Worth than the Wisdom of *Solomon* and the seven Sages divested of that Virtue. And let me ask, What Virtues have been dismissed in his Friend, unless Rapaciousness, publick Profusion, premeditated Mischief, and Thirst of ruling by military Power, enter into his List of Excellencies? What Proof has he given of great Abilities, unless it be that of doing wrong in all Things?

THE new M——r pretends not to protect by speaking in the House of Commons, but to convert by Reason and save by Action; and though *Pantagruel's* covering his Army
 K 2 with

with his Tongue may, in the Writer's Opinion, be an arch Piece of Pleasantry, as applicable to an Orator; yet, believe me, the new M——r saw the Storm coming, and you have felt it; which the Writer and his Friend consider only as the balmy Dew and gentle Breath of Zephyr, fertilizing and fattening their Pastures; like the Inhabitants of inhospitable Shores, thriving by the Shipwreck and Ruin of the Innocent and Industrious. From this, indeed, the S——tary would have protected you, had his Speech found Favour, and his Admonitions been obeyed; so far in covering you with his Tongue the Caracatura may have some Resemblance.

AFTER this the Writer infers, from the newness of those in Office, that the same Ignorance must attend them which lately accompanied a noble Lord in his Plea for Excuse before a certain Tribunal. But he is mistaken; the Deficiency of that Nobleman sprang from another Cause; neither from Newness nor Want of Practice, but from the Want of that which Heaven has bestowed on those whom he calumniates, and which, when imparted, renders Men fit for every Duty of the State, and, when denied, improper for any.

AFTER

AFTER that, this Friend of the Constitution tells you very sublimely, “ Gold, from “ the Slave who digs it to the Wretch who “ hides, requires no very extraordinary Talents.” And yet this Sublimity is little better than Nonsense ; for what is the meaning of *Gold* requiring no extraordinary *Talents*? If he means by this a small Invective against Mr L——, he should have remembered, that he that careth for his own, may not unlikely care for the Nation’s Money also ; and not, alike lavish of both, pillage to waste, and squander to destroy.

THIS sarcastic Stroke of all others is the most unjust, and proves the least effectual against him at whom it was levelled. He has given a most noble Instance of his Attachment to the Good of his Country, by refusing to affix his Name to what he deemed illegal in Favour of *Germans* ; and of his Superiority to the Love of Money, by renouncing that Post, to which the Necessity of the Times and his own Merits have again called him.

To this he adds, “ Yet happily for the “ Nation, his Majesty, *as his almost last Act* “ of

“ *of royal Authority*, has placed a noble Duke, upon whose Vigilance and Integrity the Nation may rely, at the Head of that Board.” What can be the Meaning of these Words? Has his Majesty resigned and given all Power into the Hands of this noble Duke, by this almost last Act? But, as the Writer really means, into the Hands of the S——y, must he not be confounded, at having spoken a Thing so disrespectful of his S——n in Favour of his Favourite? Can the royal Authority be reduced to a more humiliating State, than when, with War Abroad and Rebellion at Home, without common Decency and Respect, the late M——rs threatened to desert their P——e in his utmost Need, unless their Commands were absolutely complied with? What Insult, what Violence, has ever equalled that Action, when they compelled him, as it were, to continue them in Place, to his Dishonour and the Nation’s Ruin? Yet this Outrage even on his M——y, this candid Friend of the Constitution has never remarked, and dreamed only on that which never existed.

HE then adds, “ But if our Navy must be governed by the same Instinct (as the Treasury); if, when Experience and Knowledge

“ Knowledge in Profession have failed in the
 “ Destination of our Fleets, and the Choice
 “ of their Commanders? If a total Inexpe-
 “ rience, and an Ignorance that can hardly
 “ be supposed to know the Points of the
 “ Compass; if they can succeed, let the
 “ Winds and Waves be our Pilots.”

THESE are his satirical Strokes on a Nobleman, who, however deserving the former may be whom he applauds, merits no less Approbation from you his Countrymen, if Steadiness for Liberty, Opposition to *German* Troops and *German* Interests, and Zeal for this Constitution, deserve a Nation's Esteem,

BUT let this Writer declare, on what he founds the Experience and Knowledge of the late m——e M——r. It cannot be on his Success; he has had none. Is it from Length of Service? The eldest Boatswain in the Navy has a much better Title to it. But, alas! Experience and Knowledge in such Cases arise from Strength of Capacity and much Reflection, and not sailing round the World between the two Ends of a Ship, the two former of which were never within the Reach of the late m——e M——r. And, if knowing the Points of the Compass be necessary
 to

to the Head of the Ad——ty, it is not the Work of half an Hour to accomplish; probably Lord *W——sea* knows them not to this Hour, any more than might *Blake*, *Monke*, and the Duke of *York*, whose Prudence, Courage, and real Knowledge, have never been called in Question; whose Conduct and whose Victories do Honour to the Nation. The little Duties of a Seaman are by no Means requisite to be known by a Commander in Chief or Head of the A——y; and, had the Waves and Winds been our Pilots for these two last Years, *Chance* might have given us that Success, of which *Ignorance* or *Treachery* has deprived us; for mere Casualty is preferable to Weakness or Iniquity, the first *may* conduct you right, the last *must* lead you wrong.

As to that Heroism and Enthusiasm with which the Multitude is charmed, mentioned and contemned by the Writer of the Constitution, it is certainly an Object worthy their Admiration. Reason is cool and inactive, lost in Consideration, and doubtful from Research: Unaccompanied with this celestial Ardor, nothing great has ever been accomplished: Men, animated by that Charm, are awed by no Fears, intimidated by no
Menaces,

Menaces, nor restrained by any Danger, in the Cause of Liberty and their Country. And when this Writer says, " That the truly great Man, who can moderate his own Ambition, who founds his Plans in Wisdom, and rather chuses to prevent an Evil by his Prudence, than to conquer it by his Courage, is not of your Taste, and is an Object above your Understanding:" Why does not he draw a Likeness, or write the Name under his Figure, that the Portrait may be known? Is it that open foreheaded, ruddy-cheeked, fair-faced Gentleman of the *World Extraordinary* which he means? If he does, he is mistaken; you know the Moderation of his Ambition, and that his Designs are not above the Understanding of the Vulgar; every Man is convinced, from his military Connections and engrossing Spirit, what is to be expected from him.

As to the Appellation of Demagogue and Tribune of the People, with which the Author presents the S——, Names can never hurt him, who thinks nothing more noble and Praise-worthy, than restoring a People to those Rights of which others have deprived them. If the Nobles never interposed between his S——n and him, it must be, be-

L

cause

cause they knew no Safety but in his being near the Throne. And certainly that “ one Man, who, in the Consciousness of his Abilities, the Dignity of his Birth, and the Influence of his Fortune, dared to call this Minister by his proper Title, and assure his royal Master, that he would not calmly stand by to see his Closet stormed, and his sacred Person violated by one factious Family,” mistook his Abilities, repented of the Undertaking, ran away without defending the Closet, standing the Storm, or fighting for his royal Master ; for the Family, which the Writer denominates a Faction, has succeeded, and we have never heard of this great Person’s being conquered when they got the Victory.

BESIDES, what a Pack of Ingrates were the late M——rs, not to have assisted his M——y’s sacred Person, and held out the Siege against this tremendous Family of Faction, if they had not been convinced of the contrary to that which this constitutional Writer has all along been striving to insinuate.

THE next Thing this Author declares is,
 “ That he cannot be supposed to blame or
 “ reproach

“ reproach the Administration of the pre-
 “ sent M——r, because nothing has been
 “ done ; but that he expected a great many
 “ Things might have been settled, such as a
 “ Plan of Operations,” which, for ought he
 knows, is determined. “ A Day of Enqui-
 “ ry named, which is so loudly demanded ;”
 very likely it is, though it may be necessary
 to conceal it from him. “ A Scheme for a
 “ Militia ;” it is brought into the House.
 In short, this Writer expects that the new
 M——r, like *Harlequin* with one Slap of
 his wooden Sword, should instantly change
 the gloomy Scenes which have long been
 standing, for new ones of more Pleasure and
 Delight.

As to what he says about the *Hessians*, he
 knows the M——r cannot be accused for
 their tarrying so long in this Nation ; his Fa-
 vourite has conspired to prevent their Depar-
 ture.

NEXT to this succeeds a Compliment of
 Condolance for the new M——r’s Indisposi-
 tion, and an Indignation that the Councils of
 this great Nation should wait upon his Health.
 It seems the Nation is not sensible of this
 Shame, and have not yet thought it worth

while to seek his Favourite's Assistance. The Writer then adds, " That he thinks the new M——r greatly capable of serving, though " not of governing, this Country." What! the Man who violated the sacred Person of the K—g and the Constitution capable of serving his Country! Surely he forgets himself. The only Fault, then, it is apparent, that he possesses is, that he will not admit his Friend into Partnership; and thus, like the two Kings of *Brentford*, smelling the same Odour of Power, be Joint-Governors of the Realm. From thence arises all his Indignation, because the M——r refuses the Assistance of him, whose whole Designs are of another Stamp, and whose Endeavours would be exerted secretly, to oppose and traverse all the Good which the S——y intends for his Country. But, let him know, Gold allayed is of less Value. These are the Reasons which determined the S——y to oppose the Alliance of the Writer's Friend, and not the Difference between the parliamentary Debates of him and the Author's Favourite. For Men may think well who express it awkwardly; but he only who conceives with Judgment, Force, and Intuition, who speaks with Power, Eloquence, and Truth, whatever *Burleigh*, *Godolphin*, *Richlieu*, and *Mazarine*, might do,

do, bids fairest to influence Mankind to better Ways of thinking with respect to the Welfare of this Country, and save it from the manifold Misfortunes with which it is well nigh overwhelmed.

I COME now to the Title of this Production, the *Constitution*; “ Than which he
 “ confesses to know no other Name more
 “ powerful or more solemn; it includes our
 “ dearest most valuable Possessions, Liberty
 “ and Religion.” And yet these best of Blessings he has silently seen destroyed, and only now Fears for them from the future Attempts of the present M——r.

WITH what Countenance could he give it this Name? Had his Zeal for this Liberty and this Religion been sincere, would he, through pretended Sollicitude for your Welfare, have warned you against Dangers which *may* arrive, and neglected to suppress those which are already come? Would he have insinuated the Dread of Usurpation in the new, and not opposed the Despotism of the old, M——rs? Would he have calumniated the Character of Mr P—, to gloss that of him, who, from being his Favourite and of similar Sentiments, must be a dangerous Man?

BUT

BUT his Principles are seen and his Designs discovered ; he has spread the Name *Constitution* upon his Performance, like Green-sword on the Pit-fall, to ensnare the *English* Lyon. Stratagems discovered give Joy to those who escape, and Pain to those who are disappointed. And, to the sincere Sorrow of him and his Associates, he will find the Man he means to lessen in your Esteem, will support his Majesty's Crown and Dignity, promote the Welfare of the People, improve the Constitution, or relinquish, with Honour, that Post which he cannot preserve with Integrity.

HAVING thus far animadverted on the Spirit, Intent, and Disguise, of this Address to Mr P—, I shall wave shewing the Contradictions which are to be found in it, to take Notice of the first Paper called the *Constitution*. And here, as the Beginning of it requires no particular Attention, Necessity of being examined, or denied ; and the enquiring into the various Kinds of Governments may be an useful Research, I shall not delay you a Minute, 'till I come to that Part, in which he says, “ Too much of the *Democ-*
“ *cratical* enters into our Constitution.”

HERE

HERE at length the Truth of his Design escapes ; so difficult is it to be an uniform Hypocrite ; this Declaration unfolds the Secrets of his Heart. Hence, it evidently appears, he is the Enemy of you the People, and that his Idea of *improving* the Constitution is yet farther to enslave you.

WITH this Intent, has he not long in Silence and Delight beheld the Encroachments of the late M——rs on your Rights and Liberties? Hence springs his Aversion to the new S——y, lest he may restore them ; from that Motive he has opened his Lips, to excite your Jealousy against him ; from this Source, those hypocritical Tremblings for the Danger of your Constitution take their Rise.

AGAIN he declares, “ That should the
 “ Passions and Interests of the Constituents be
 “ mixed with those of the Representatives,
 “ one fatal Consequence attending all Demo-
 “ cracies would attend such an Assembly.”
 What, in the Name of Goodness, is this Fatality? “ Some few powerful Speakers
 “ would determine the Debates.” And thereby would they not preserve you a free and happy People? Can the Care of your
 Rights

Rights be a fatal Consequence to this Constitution? What an Idea does this Writer form of them?

To this he subjoins, “ That if ancient
 “ Definitions supposed an Orator perfectly
 “ good,

(A faultless Monster which the World ne'er
 saw)

“ modern Oratory will not bear so severe a
 “ Limitation.” How happy are you, then,
 since Perfection is not to be found, that at
 present you possess one, whose whole Ambition
 is to save his Country; whose Contempt
 for Money preserves him incorruptible; whose
 Love for Virtue and the Constitution renders
 him incapable of corrupting others; of Fortitude
 superior to every Opposition but that
 of Truth and Reason; despising all Honours,
 but those which spring from Merit; of Genius
 to conceive, of Powers to express, of Resolution
 to exert, whatever tends to save a sinking
 Land; and of Faculties to convince
 all but those, whom the Bias of Corruption
 has withdrawn from the strait Path of Verity
 and Virtue.

By

By such a Man no Liberty can be lost; from the Calamities and Distresses of the Nation, whether they proceed from Pestilence or Famine, Adversities in War, or former Mal-Administration, all must receive Alleviation, if not Cure. Every Apprehension, excited by preceding M——rs, must subside; every Danger dissipate; from his Orations you have nought to dread; the exorbitant Power of the Crown, the Abuses of Prerogative, the Horrors of Slavery, will disappear, and weak and wicked M——rs be driven from the State; whilst the Name and Existence of Liberty and the Constitution are held inviolably sacred, and Perswasion, from clear and explicit Truth, shall satisfy your Souls, and create an Acquiescence in his Conduct, which will prevent the Jealousies of approaching Slavery. Of all human Beings, in his Orations, the least resembling the dark, confused, and hypocritic, *Cromwell*, who, by concealing his Designs, and inflaming by Fanaticism, infatuated the People to believe and be enslaved.

SUCH being the Man who now presides in the Administration, be not seduced by this Garb of Tenderness for the approaching Danger
M of

of the Constitution; it conceals a Heart rankly rotten, which prompts the Tongue to gloss, falsify, and exalt, the Man, who longs to undo and depreciates him who wishes to preserve you. Listen not to this Syren's Song of Liberty, which he utters with no other View than to seduce and to destroy.

HAVING in this Manner demonstrated by his Writings, that he is not a Friend to your Part in the Constitution, that Writer proceeds to shew he is as little attached to the present Family. He says, "Never was any Civil War, never was any Sedition raised, any *Revolution* formed, but under the horrid Auspices of these Patrons of the People, these Defenders of publick Freedom."

IF all *Revolutions* have been formed under such horrid Auspices! What must we think of that which expelled *James*, and seated the present Family on the Throne, and of him who has delivered this Opinion? Here, again, Truth breaks through Disguise; the Man who thinks your Liberties too great, is alike the Enemy of your Sovereign. What is now become of all that Reverence for the sacred Person of the King, expressed in the Address to Mr P—; that pretended Regard
for

for his Master's Honour? Who will hereafter credit what he writes?

NOR in this has he even the Merit of a *Jacobite*; that would be to be attached to some Cause, into which, however wrong, selfish Views might not enter. He is one of those Aristocratical Anarchs, who have long played the King and People one against the other, as Dancers do Castanets, to govern both, enrich themselves, and amuse you with the Performance.

SUCH being the Principles of this Writer, of what Import is it whether his Name be known or concealed; whether he be descended from a Line of Kings, or dropped in a Basket; whether his Education has been at *Cambridge* or *St Giles's*; his Person tall or short, strait or crooked, of winning or forbidding Countenance; his Abilities great or insufficient? It was the Heart, and none of these Qualities, which made *Cæsar Borgia* and *Catiline* detested; and such Sentiments as he avows, will bring a like Abhorrence on him, and all whom he abets and favours.

BID him, then, not stain the private Reputation of Mr P— by his *sacred* Esteem,

nor forget, that Petulance and Levity have already entered into his Manner of treating him. Bid him desist, and tell him it is in Vain, with the Author of the *Test*, to implore that poor *H——y* may not be totally excluded from the *M——ry*. If the present *M——r*, as he acknowledges by intreating the Admission of his Favourite, be equal to the first Place in the Ad——tion, he wants the Assistance of no Man, whose Addition would retard or frustrate the Execution of every good Intent ; the discordant Particles in their Natures can never assimilate, nor the Friend of Liberty act in Conjunction with the Abettor of military Government, the avowed Subverter of the Constitution.

AFTER this the Writer proceeds, “ *Ma-*
 “ *rius* had his *Saturninus*, the most execra-
 “ ble of Mankind, and *Sulpitius*, the most
 “ abandoned.” Ask what he felt in apply-
 ing these Characters to the present *M——rs* ;
 Had he no Check, no Remorse, on so singu-
 lar an Occasion ? Where are these Likenesses
 to be found ? Who will seek them amongst
 the *S——y*’s Companions, that knows where
 the Temple of private and publick Perdition
 stands branded in the Front with the Name
 of

of *A——*'s? There *Cethegus* and *Saturninus* hold their impious Orgies, plundering the Patrimony of thoughtless Heirs, who first sell their Estates, and then themselves and Country for Place or Pension. There *Catiline* is nightly found, who has his *Cæsar* in Reserve, of whom, like *Sylla* to the Roman People, I bid you BEWARE.

THE furious *Clodius* and profligate *Milo* are amongst their Numbers; Men who, having dissolutely squandered in their Youth their whole Possessions, have since rapaciously robbed Individuals, and the Publick in Reprisal. Who have prophaned the Rites of the *Bona Dea*, stallions to the Mother's Lust, to steal the Daughter from the Father's Heart and for a Brother's Bed; who sport the Lives of Innocence in Wagers, and, not unlikely, are this Moment exerting every Art to destroy an Admiral under Sentence of Death, because it is their Interest he should die; for those who wage will wish to win, and those who wish to win will dare such Actions to gain the Wager, though the Death of Innocence were the Means which can only give them their Success.

THE same Spirit of this Author of the *Constitution*, which tells of Dangers to come, and sees not those arrived, has found Characters where they exist not, to conceal them where they do. The very Likeness in his Favourites to the above-named *Roman Profligates*, determined him to place it amongst the present M——ry, to prevent your discovering it amongst his Friends. Such is the whole Conduct of this fallacious Writer.

FOR these Reasons you are justified to oppose and steel your Hearts, against the Man he chuses should direct the State; and whilst he writes in this Strain, and the present M——rs deserve the publick Approbation, which I trust will exist as long as their M——ry continues, no Endeavour shall be wanting to expose his malevolent Design, and prevent you from being seduced by Fallacy and Imposture.

AT length he concludes in saying, “ I shall end this Paper with the Sentiments of an ancient Author, not yet translated into *English*. Cities and Fortresses have their proper Defence, Walls, Trenches, Fortifications; but Nature hath given to a wife
“ and

“ and generous People a Bulwark more im-
 “ pregnable. What Bulwark? Diffidence.”

ASK him wherefore he concealed the Name of *Demosthenes* when he quoted these Words. Was it not Consciousness of the striking Similitude between that *Greek* and the present M——r, which prevailed upon him at that Moment to conceal that Name? Did he not know that every Eye would discern, every Heart feel, and every Tongue pronounce, the Likeness? Is it not as strong between them, as it exists between the Author and the Sophists of those Times? Are not their Pursuits the same?

THE Orators, disinterested and animated with Zeal for their Country's Welfare, by sound Sense and genuine Eloquence to persuade and save a whole People; the Sophists, moved by selfish Considerations, by appealing to the Love of private Interest in every Breast, by seductive and fallacious Arguments to win the Multitude from the general to the good of Individuals; to smile on the Ruin of their native Land, which enriches them alone.

WHAT *Athens* then was, *England* is at present, lost in Pleasure, rotten with Corruption,

ruption, adoring Ignorance inshrined in Wealth, and despising Genius unaccompanied with that destructive Possession. Yet had the Constitutions of *Rome* or of that City resembled this of *England* in every particular, had they enjoyed the Power of changing the great Council of those Nations, the nefarious, in a new Choice, might have been excluded, and *Demosthenes* and *Tully* might have preserved their Liberties and their Country from Perdition; for there were not wanting in *Greece* and *Italy* at that Time Men of Integrity, who, listening to the Voice of Reason, and entering under the Direction of those Statesmen, would have effected what, unstained by such Associates in the Senate-House, they were unable to accomplish. The Senators were unchangeable and corrupt; Integrity was excluded from the Council; and thus fell the *Greek* and *Roman* States.

THIS Excellence of changing the great Council of the State, your Constitution happily enjoys. Whenever, then, Danger to your Liberties may hereafter arise from the Neglect of publick Prosperity, by attending to private Advantage; when Wars, which exhaust you, shall become the great Emoluments of your Representatives; when
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a new M——r resolved to save your Constitution on virtuous Motives, shall be impeded by the corrupt Influence remaining amongst the Adherents of the old, then it will become your great Concern and chief Duty incessantly to petition, though the usual Time be not arrived, in Justice to your King and Constitution, that a Change of Senators be made, lest ye perish by the same Means which subdued the Liberties of *Athens* and of *Rome*, and ye are no more a free People.

AFTER having said so much in Favour of the pretent M——r, it becomes an indispensable Obligation on me to offer you those Reasons, which have determined me to warm your Hearts with Hopes of Redress and Reparation of your Constitution from his Conduct; to urge you to sustain him; and to preserve myself from the injurious Imputation of having attempted to exalt him, and deceive you, without offering any Arguments for such Proceeding.

THOUGH all Men participate of the same Faculties, yet the ruling Passion is that which characterizes every Individual, and, in all Matters of Moment influences his Conduct.

HAD Mr P—, then, designed Aught maliciously against your Liberties, would he have renounced the Seals, when they were some Time past offered to his Hands? Would not he have gladly stood on the Ruins which the late M——rs pulled down, the easier to have reached and accomplished the total Demolition of that little which remains standing? Would he have opposed the Introduction of mercenary *Germans*, had he intended to enslave the Land? would he have resisted *H——n* Interests, had he determined to impoverish you and finally exhaust your whole Treasure? would he have espoused the establishing of a Militia, had he not apprehended the Danger of a military Government? Would he have renounced the Association of the old Destroyers, had he not resolved to save you from their Iniquity?

IT is the Remark of an admired Writer amongst the *Greeks*, that nothing can make a Man *great*, the Contempt of which makes him *greater*. With Instances of this Truth the *Greek* and *Roman* Histories are replete; and the Safety of these States was preserved by the voluntary Poverty of their Statesmen. In like Manner, the acknowledged Contempt
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for Gold in Mr P—, must have framed his Heart to the Influence of true Glory, the Love of which alone forms his ruling Passion. In what Manner, then, can that Desire be exerted with such genuine Honour, so amply satisfied, and so exalted in the Opinion of Mankind, as, by reinstating the Liberties and Privileges you have lost, restoring the ruined and unstable State of this Constitution to it's ancient Excellence, and rendering Millions happy.

MEN only of such a Stamp are immovable to the Voice of Titles, Riches, Power, on unrighteous Terms; and rarer amongst Mankind than a Comet amidst the Skies.

NOR are these the sole Reasons which ought to weigh on every Mind, and Influence every *Englishman* to sustain his M——y. The very opposition of those who speak and write against him, offers the most convincing Proof of his candid Intentions; they know he designs to save, or that their Hands would be necessary to assist him to destroy; they would not oppose, but that they are convinced he means to exclude them from the Pursuit of your undoing; for what have they ever opposed but honest and upright Measures.

NOR this Opposition only of pernicious Men brings a Proof of his Integrity; those of your Representatives, whose Behaviour has never yet been stained with deviating from yours and their Country's Cause, uncorrupt by Place or Pension, by Hope or Fear; who, amidst the eternal Slander of the Dissolute, and Profusion of injurious Terms, were then, as now, the true Friends of *England*, free and independent; are unanimous in believing the Intentions of the M——r, to be honourable, and in supporting his Administration. Will he, then, rising into Authority from his own Virtues, your publick Remonstrances, and the Necessity of the Times, supported by the undeviating Friends of the Constitution, relinquish the Bliss of saving, to undo his Country, and renounce immortal Fame, for temporary Power and eternal Detestation?

BE not deluded into a Distrust which must be fatal to the Nation; nor listen to those who insinuate, that his Orations resemble Rivers, running in melodious Murmurs thro' spreading Forests and flowery Lawns, diversified with hanging Rocks, aspiring Hills, and Variety of beauteous Prospect; Charms to the Eye and Rapture to the Ear: Which
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yet, in overflowing, wash away the Farmer's Toil and Manure, sterilizing the Land. Believe them, like the rising Waters of the *Nile*, bringing Joy, and leaving the Power of Plenty.

YET should you give Credit to Part of what his Enemies assert, and think the Stream of his Conduct has sometimes appeared stained with Impurities, has it not in general been transparent, whilst that of those who oppose him, has continued unremitting, black as *Cocytus* running through Hell? If he has erred like Man in the Moment of Frailty, and forfeited your good Opinion, he has repented in the Day of Perfection, and claims the justest Title to your Assistance and Esteem; whilst his and your Enemies have, undeviatingly, pursued the Paths of Iniquity, without one Moment's Remorse for overwhelming you with national Calamity.

Thus, in the most unfavourable Light, *Reason* bids you to assist him and yourselves. Where is Perfection to be found? To whom will you apply? Where place your Hopes? Unless he be sustained by you, how can he resist the Torrent of Thousands, determined alike to his and your Undoing? Now is the
Moment

Momen of returning Happiness or accomplished Ruin. Men adapted by Nature to retrieve a sinking State arise not in Ages. The Faculties of conceiving right, expressing perfectly, and exerting arduously, form the rarest Union amongst Mankind. With the Power of conceiving only what might save, without superior Elocution, you could not be convinced of his Abilities; by speaking with Eloquence, void of exalted Understanding, though you might be delighted, you could not acquiesce in him; and, without Resolution of exerting every Conception for the publick Good, and Fortitude above all Temptation, how could these Resolves be carried into Execution, or you rely upon him? Then desert not him and your own Interests, lest Conviction coming, when no Remedy for your Evils shall remain, you repent too late of not saving what will be irrecoverably lost. When dying Slaves, your Children shall curse you in your Graves, indignantly pronouncing, Here lye those Fathers, who, ignominiously deserting him that would have preserved them free, delivered us their Children down to Bondage.

THUS you are necessitated to support him, whom your Remonstrances have placed at the
Helm;

Helm; or to pronounce Sentence of Condemnation on yourselves. It will be said, that Timidity, or Consciousness of meriting such Treatment from the late M——rs, has determined you to desist, and to endure the Calamities they brought upon you; for either the late M——ry hath transgressed, and ought to be called to Justice, or they are causelessly removed; either they are criminal, or you actuated by unwarrantable Motives in the Clamours which have been raised against them. Wherefore be not like Cannon on a publick Day, noisy without Effect, but incessant in Execution, 'till the Citadel of m——rial Iniquity be humbled in the Dust.

WITHOUT acting in this Manner, the Praises which you so liberally and so justly bestow upon your Ancestors, are converted into the most bitter Satires against yourselves; you admire them for subduing Tyrants, and confess your own Cowardice in fearing to pursue M——rs; at least it will be urged, that you have pursued through Hate, or pity without Justice. The first it is necessary you remove, by persisting to shew the Reasons for their being called to an impartial Examination; and Mercy belongeth to none
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who deserve to suffer according to the strict Rules of Equity.

Too long, alas! have the Symptoms of a corrupt and expiring Constitution, like those amidst the Plague at *Athens*, when all was filled with Desolation and with Death, prevailed amongst you! of Souls supine, inattentive to Futurity, thinking the Hour of Dissolution near at Hand, treating every Impediment as insurmountable, and every Difficulty impossible to be removed; ye have sought no Remedy to your Evils, but, enjoying present Pleasure, lived only by the Respite of Moments. Such is the Degeneracy of the present Race, *Englishmen* even prefer Sloth and Ease to Liberty and the preserving their Constitution.

ROWZE, then, and be persuaded, that though Men are by Nature mortal, your Constitution may, by your Means, be made immortal; for it is the first Duty of every Man to think it can not die.

AND though the Grievances you complain of should not meet immediate Redress from Circumstances at present irremediable by the New M——r, persist in your Remonstrances,
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let not your Pursuits, like Fire in Straw, be quick to blaze and sudden to expire; the Requests you make want no Cargoes of Paper to develop Mystery and explain Truth, nor deep Research into m——rial Conduct; they cannot be hid by Art nor disguised by Sophistry; the very Rolls which contain the Laws of Liberty, will prove the Truth of what I have laid before you; the Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement made whole, as at their first Formation; and the Abrogation of those penal Laws before mentioned suffice to make you free.

BELIEVE me, the Demand of a whole Nation is irresistible; that which placed Mr P— at the Head of the Adm——tion continued, will secure him and preserve you. Shall *Byng* be sentenced to Death for Breach of Part of one Article of War; and your late M——rs escape unexamined, who have infringed the most essential in your Charters of Liberty? Nay, the very Article on which he has been condemned, offers yet a stronger Argument for calling that Man to Justice, who selected and appointed him for the Expedition. Had the Ad——l's Mis-carriage sprung from Treachery, that might have been concealed in his own Bosom;

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from Disaffection, the most piercing Eyes might have been justified in not discerning it; but, as it arises from Ignorance in his Profession, this could have been concealed from no Man of Sense, bred to the Practice of maritime Affairs. His Offence, then, reverts with full Force on the Person who chose him; for surely the Ignorance of not distinguishing those Persons who are proper to command, is to be equally ignorant with him who knew not how to command on the Day of Battle, and requires Punishment with greater Reason, because infinitely more fatal. The Want of Sense in the Head of the Ad——ty, whose distinguishing Characteristick ought to be the Skill of selecting proper Commanders, may fill the Fleet with insufficient Men, and lose your whole Possessions, as it has already lost *Minorca*.

ONE happiness peculiar to the present Enquiry attends your persisting in what you have already so auspiciously begun; those who have openly arrogated the Power of destroying your Liberties, having alike in Secret usurped the Authority of their S——n, Justice to him, as well as to yourselves, compels you to demand the late M——rs to an Examination.

THE only Objects of your Pursuit are, Men, alike Subjects of the same Realm, obedient to the same Laws, Servants of the Publick, answerable for their Conduct, and in no Sense your Superiors; unless the Circumstances of rising from Obscurity to Titles, from Dust to immense Riches, misguiding by Ignorance, ruining by Neglect, betraying by Avarice, or enslaving by Pride, communicate the Power of rendering such Men above the Reach of Justice and the Laws.

CALL them to Account; restore your Constitution; leave your Children free; otherwise, to what Purpose do you bear Arms against the *French*? Why complain of the Loss of *Minorca* and *Oswego*? though you were victorious in every Engagement, and possessed the *East* and *West Indies*, the Treasures which they yielded, like Birds of Passage, would only rest a Moment in this Land, to gather Strength, and take their farther Flight into *Germany*. Nay, what would it profit you, though you won the whole World and lost your own Liberty.